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of this weakness. Each of these is definitely a reaction against the combined political and industrial leadership of the unions of Great Britain.

Here the discussion by the Webbs is keen and important.<sup>12</sup> They give a historic review of the oscillations of British organization, now swinging towards consumer's organizations, now towards producer's organizations, and they make a distinction of fundamental and conclusive value between the two. In this they revise somewhat their analysis of 1897, in *Industrial Democracy*, in order to meet the new gild socialism half way. Yet fundamentally their position remains the same. "Producer's organizations" whether trade unions or "gilds," tend towards exclusiveness, for they produce only one product, as a rule, and through control of that product they can command the services of all other producers. They tend towards monopoly. But consumers cannot tend to monopoly; their strength as an organization is greater by opening their doors. The conclusion is that the supreme government of industry, as of the nation, must be in the hands of consumers, either parliament, municipal bodies, or consumers' societies. Private profits must be eliminated and private ownership, for the most part, abolished, but the government of industry must not be turned over to producers—gild socialists—but kept in control of consumers. Yet producers must be organized to deal with the organized consumers. Certain concessions, which, however, are not quite clear, are offered to the "gildsmen" by way of representation on boards of directors, but otherwise the consumers and not the producers are to control the socialist commonwealth.

JOHN R. COMMONS.

*University of Wisconsin.*

*Organized Labor in American History.* By FRANK TRACY CARLTON. (New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1920. Pp. 313.)

Although the book is designated by the author as a short history of the American labor movement and the part the wage-earner has played in the industrial, social, and political evolution of the nation, the bulk of it is devoted to a consideration of certain problems more or less closely connected with organized labor. The purpose of the author is to present the background concerning

<sup>12</sup> Pp. 660-718.

which knowledge is necessary if any constructive plan is to be made for better relations between capital and labor.

After a short introductory chapter the topics discussed are: epochs in the history of organized labor; adoption and interpretation of the constitution; the free school and the wage earner; land reform and the wage earner; labor legislation and the wage earner; labor parties, socialism, direct action, and progressive movement; the ideals of the wage earner; recent pre-war tendencies; and, the war and after. *Epochs in the History of Organized Labor* is a clear and concise outline of American industrial and labor history and is perhaps the best chapter in the book. Concerning the chapters on the Constitution, Free Schools, and Land Reform, the question might be raised as to the appropriateness of their inclusion. Especially is this true in regard to the discussion concerning the adoption and the interpretation of the Constitution which is simply a rehash of the now familiar charge that the Constitution was written and adopted through what amounted to a conspiracy on the part of the propertied classes. The argument is interesting but not convincing and shows lack of historical perspective. Too much is read back from present-day conditions. The difficulty of amendment is stressed but the recent passage of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Amendments has led the author to modify somewhat his ideas on that subject. The Constitution, of course, is not sacrosanct and can be changed; but that universal manhood suffrage did not exist at the time of its adoption is an argument neither for nor against it. At any rate, the chapter is based on an idealistic doctrinaire theory and has little relation to the subject of the book.

The matter in the other chapters is, however, more closely connected with the subject of the book. Concerning labor legislation, after tracing its development, the point is made that if it is to accomplish the purpose for which it was ostensibly passed labor legislation must be supported by efficient and sympathetic administration. This fact has been recognized and so through union efforts a considerable number of union men are holding administrative offices in the federal and state service. It is said that two rather antagonistic results will follow. In the first place, the administration of labor laws will be more satisfactory to the wage-earning group than is the case when all administrative positions are filled by persons antagonistic or indifferent to the aspirations of the workers as a class. In the second place, however, as

soon as a union man gets a political appointment he is in danger of losing his enthusiasm for unionism. Promotion in industry and political preferment seem to be the means of satisfying the ambitious and modifying the radical. The man who is being promoted or who sees a political job dangling before his eyes has an incentive for conservatism.

Considerable emphasis is placed in various chapters on the difference between business unionism organized along craft lines and industrial or radical unionism. The industrial unionist and many old-line trade unionists are abandoning old and familiar watchwords and traditional policies. The solidarity of the wage-earning class is being stressed. Professor Carlton says:

Not only has industrial integration or combination furnished an incentive and a reason for the partial erasure of craft differences and demarcations, but the shortsighted and fatuous policy of many associations of employers, such as, for example, that of the National Association of Manufacturers, is driving many trade union men into a hard and coherent mass union in which trade demarcations count for little. And the bitter, unreasoning, archaic hatred and opposition of many members of such associations do but furnish the fuel which heats the melting pot and reduces the crystallized trade unions to the amorphous mass union. These gentlemen are in reality the promoters par excellence of revolutionary industrial unionism and of impossibilist socialism.

The changes brought about before and after the war are emphasized in the last two chapters. Among these may be mentioned a tendency toward amalgamation of allied trades, the organization of unskilled workers, and the demand for some participation in the management of industry.

Aside from the strictures noted, this book is a substantial piece of work. One of its chief merits is that it is based on an accurate knowledge of the ideals and policies of organized labor.

GEORGE M. JANES.

*Washington and Jefferson College.*

#### NEW BOOKS

ALLEN, H. J. and GOMPERS, S. *The Allen-Gompers debate.* (New York: Dutton. 1920.)

AYUSAWA, I. F. *International labor legislation.* Columbia University studies in history, economics, and public law. (New York: Longmans, Green. 1920. Pp. 258.)

Traces the origin and development of international labor legislation from the time of Owen (1818), with chapters on progress